

The University of Chicago

A COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF THE RELIGION OF THE
ILIAD AND *ODYSSEY*

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GREEK LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE

1934

By
JAMES DUFFY

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CHAPTER I

OLYMPUS

It has been stated¹ that the belief of pre-Homeric times that Olympus was the home of the gods must have originated among the early inhabitants of Thessaly. The assumption is that in pre-historic times there were several mountains named Olympus in Greece, one of which was distinguished by the residence of Zeus. It was a belief in antiquity that the altitude of Olympus, the abode of Zeus, was so great that birds could not fly over it and the air at this great height was too thin to support human life. In other words, Olympus penetrated the $\acute{\alpha}\eta\eta\rho$ and reached the $\alpha\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho$; it was in the Greek sense of the term an aetherial height. This is the conception of Olympus which Homer apparently received from an earlier age.

Zeus as the weather god derives his epithets from Olympus, the mountain from which the physical phenomena of the god are most in evidence.² He is the only god who is called Olympian except the Muses.³ He seems to have dwelt from of old on Olympus and the other gods seem to have been subjected to him long before Homer's time. They assemble in his palace on the topmost point of

¹ A. B. Cook, Zeus, pp. 100 ff.

² Zeus performs his functions as a weather god also when stationed on Mount Ida, Il. viii. 75, 170; xii. 253; xvii. 594; xx. 59.

³ Il. ii. 484, 491; xi. 218; xiv. 509; xvi. 508.

Olympus.¹ Two passages in the Iliad² seem to indicate that Zeus at one time was the sole occupant of the peaks of Olympus. This is a reminiscence from a very early time. The other gods had their own especial provinces elsewhere, but long before Homer's time they had been raised to Olympus and had become subordinated to Zeus.³ In nearly all the other passages which mention Olympus it can be seen that the other gods dwell there with Zeus. The passages which mention Olympus as the home of the gods are distributed somewhat uniformly throughout the Iliad.⁴

Aristarchus was the first Homeric scholar who realized that the language of Homer is an organic whole and must be understood and interpreted from itself. In antiquity the name of Aristarchus was proverbial as a critic of the first order and the scholia of later ages show clearly the nature of his criticism on Homer as being that of a prodigiously erudite man.⁵ There are to be found in recent Homeric studies adverse criticisms of the critical standard of Aristarchus which to some extent had their inception with Wolf. Aristarchus avoided the pitfall of interpreting Homer by way of allegory. He refused to interpret Homer in any other way than by letting Homer interpret himself. The allegorizing method of interpretation of Homer began with the earliest school of commentators and again became popular in later times. Aristarchus' manner of interpretation shows a rigid consistency

¹Il. 1. 498; viii. 3, 443. Od. 1. 27.

²xiii. 243; xvi. 365.

³Cf. Nilsson, Mycen. Origin of Gr. Myth., p. 231.

⁴i. 18, 566; ii. 14, 67; v. 383, 404, 868, 878; vii. 451, 456; x. 462; xi. 77; xiii. 68; xiv. 508; xv. 21, 115; xvi. 93; xviii. 186; xx. 5, 125; xxi. 518; xxii. 166; xxiv. 468.

⁵Croiset, An Abridged Hist. of Gr. Lit., Eng. trans., p. 436.

in the application of principles ascertained by analogy.¹ It is on these principles that Aristarchus came to the conclusion that Olympus is uniformly meant by Homer in both poems as the home of the gods.² Zenodotus, under the influence of the rhapsodists who made unwarranted alterations in the poems, rejected whole passages. This practice became moderated as criticism developed and it reached its most commendable climax in Aristarchus.

Aristarchus concluded that Olympus in both poems is the mountain of that name; this mountain is never really identified with heaven but rises far into it. The passage in the Odyssey which has caused much controversy³ is no exception to his interpretation of the places in which Olympus is mentioned in the poems. Eustathius and the scholiasts also interpret Olympus as the concrete mountain.⁴ The opinion of antiquity appears to regard Olympus in Homer as the genuine mountain. The Roman poets apparently were of the same opinion as the Alexandrian commentators; that is, if the Latin adjectives may be looked upon as expressing the poets' interpretation of it. Virgil applies the adjectives longus, superus, convexus, and extremus to Olympus. These adjectives show his concrete interpretation of it.⁵ Ovid and other Latin poets and writers show from the descriptive words which

¹ See Hayman, Odyssey, I, ixviii.

² See Lehrs' Aristarchus, C. I, 163 ff. where all the passages regarding Olympus are collected.

³ vi. 42.

⁴ He says on Od. vi. 42: καὶ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ "Ὀλυμπος τάγε ἄνω· τὰ γὰρ τοι κατὰ καὶ μετὰ τὰ νέφη ἀγάννηφός που λέγεται . . . τότε γὰρ, τὸ φασίν, οὐ κατ' ἐνδοιάσμον κείσεται ἀλλὰ κατὰ κοινὴν δόξαν· αἰγλήεντα γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ μεστὰ αἴθρης καὶ νεφέλαις ἀσχίστα.

⁵ J. C. Vollbroth, De Olympo Thessaliae Monte Deorum Sede, says, "Homeri αἰπὺν, μακρὸν μέγαν ἄκρον reddit Latinus Poeta (Virgilius) simpliciter altum Olympum (Georg. i. 96) et alibi. Clarus (Aeneid) Olympus est forte etiam αἰγλήεις Homeri."

they apply to Olympus¹ in their writings that their conception of it is the same as that of the Alexandrian scholars.

Most modern critics regard Olympus as uniformly conceived by the poet in both poems. Mure² considered Olympus as the concrete mountain and found the passage in Odyssey vi. 42 ff., from which others infer the etherealized idea, no exception. Smith³ believed that Olympus was a mountain whose peak extended into the calm ether, from which it was believed there was an opening into the vault of heaven closed by thick clouds as a door.⁴

Nilsson⁵ is not right when he says that the peak of Olympus and heaven are identical because lightning and rain come down from the mountain-top around which the clouds gather. This statement might be true enough if Zeus, the weather god, performed these functions on Mount Olympus alone. He is represented as performing the same functions from Ida also. From this mountain he

¹Frondosus, gelidus, pruinosis, rapidus flagrans piniferum, stellans. Vollbroth, op. cit., chap. xxi. Hesychius says: "Ὀλύμπος, οὐρανός, θεοῦ, οἰκητήριον, καὶ ὄρος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. Suidas says: "Ὀλύμπος, ὁ οὐρανός (οἶονεὶ ὀλοάμπος) θεοῦ οἰκητήριον. Ὀλυλαμπής is the word by which Aristotle describes Olympus, Mund. 6. 30.

²Critical Hist. of Lang. and Lit. of Ancient Greece, II, 487.

³Sir W. Smith, Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities, s. v.

⁴Cf. Finsler, Die Olympischen Szenen der Ilias, p. 30 and Seymour, Life in the Homeric Age, p. 418. Lehrs(op. cit., p. 164) says, "Finxit Homerus Olympum ultra nubes cacuminibus eminentem; quae infra nubes sunt cacumina hominum oculis exposita et nive tecta, quae ultra nubes hominum oculis remotis, ibi deorum domicilia, ibi aeterna claritas." Cf. Lehrs, op. cit., p. 163. Seymour (op. cit., p. 395) says that in general Olympus is a lofty mountain on the summit of which the gods dwell. Nagelsbach (Homerische Theologie); Friedreich (Die Realien in der Iliade und Odyssee, p. 33), Voss, Faesi, Farnell, and others say the same. Preller and Robert (Griech. Myth., I, 59) regard Olympus as an idealized mountain because of the adjective αἰγλήεις.

⁵Mycen. Origins of Gr. Myth., p. 231. Cf. also Finsler, Homer, I², 163.

sends the thunder¹ and the winds.² He shrouded Ida in clouds and thundered and lightened.³ If we must identify Olympus with the heavens because lightning and rain come from there, it follows that we must come to the same conclusion regarding Mount Ida.

As far as the association of Zeus with Olympus is concerned it so far seems to be a genuine mountain. Some writers on the subject, however, say that there are passages in the Iliad which denote an idealized conception of Olympus and that there are none at all in the Odyssey which indicate that Olympus is a physical mountain. Mackrodt states that the Iliad and the Odyssey are by different authors and that the poems as they have come down to us are of a composite nature. He asserts that there are interpolations in both poems, some of an early date and others of a later time. He further states that the Iliad is older than the Odyssey by about a century and that consequently the conception of Olympus in the latter poem is different from that of the former.⁴

Mackrodt seems to set out with a pre-conceived idea of showing that the Iliad knows Olympus only as a physical mountain; he rejects as of a later date any passage that is not in accordance with his method of interpretation. He rejects the passage at the beginning of the eighth book of the Iliad in which the poet shows the gods in assembly on the topmost peak of many-ridged Olympus. He states that there is no difference between the conception of Olympus here and that expressed in the Odyssey. He

¹Il. vii. 75; viii. 133, 170.

²Il. xii. 253.

³Il. xvii. 594.

⁴Der Olymp in Ilias und Odyssee, p. 22: "Es unterliegt nicht dem geringsten Zweifel, dass in der Ilias der Olymp mit dem gleichnamigen Berge Thessaliens identisch ist und dass diejenigen Stellen in denen eine idealere Vorstellung zu Tage tritt als Producte einer jüngeren Zeit betrachtet werden müssen. Für die Odyssee dagegen vermögen wir unser Urtheil nicht mit derselben Bestimmtheit auszusprechen."

says that this is the only passage in the Iliad in which an ideal conception of Olympus is presented and that it belongs to a later date.¹ He also rejects the whole Διὸς ἀνάστη scene which he considers as unworthy of Homer and the epos.² His theory of Olympus in the Iliad would seem to be that, with the rejection of the passages just mentioned and other passages which he thinks are interpolated, Homer had in mind the Thessalian mountain in this poem.

According to Finsler the theology of the Iliad and the Odyssey is divided into two parts. The first part is that which belonged to the period preceding the eighth century B.C.,³ the other is the conception of the deities of this period and later. He states that at the end of the eighth century B.C. a great poet undertook to form the epic poem which we call the Iliad. This poet proceeded according to a deliberate plan to organize the material from epic poems which had come down from a preceding time. Not only did he organize this material but he imprinted upon it the stamp of his own genius, so that in reality he is the author of the present Iliad.⁴ Finsler goes on to say:

Der Wohnsitz der Götter unseres Dichters ist nicht der Himmel, sondern der Olympos, der alte Götterberg im Norden Thessaliens. Wie wir sahen, was in festen Formeln eine gewisse Erinnerung an ihn erhalten geblieben. Jetzt greift der Dichter auf die fast vergessene Vorstellung zurück und zeichnet⁵ ebenso sicher wie phantasievoll das Bild Göttersitzes.

In the earlier poems this later poet had found that Olympus and

¹Op. cit., p. 9.

²Cf. Wilhelm Nestle, "Anfänge einer Götterburlesque bei Homer," Neue Jahr. für Phil., XV, 160-82.

³Homer, I², 206.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 207.

heaven were identical.¹ Finsler says that the expressions in the poems which connect the gods with Olympus have no value in determining whether the poet had heaven or the Thessalian mountain in mind.²

Luch³ presents practically the same view as does Mackrodt. He does not believe, however, that the poems are of a composite nature, but in every other respect his view is in agreement with that of Mackrodt. Luch works out his theory of Olympus on the supposition that the poems are by different authors and that the Iliad is about a century older than the Odyssey. He suggests that all the investigators of the Olympus question were ignorant of the author, his time, and his relation to his work and that their conclusions are in many respects without value.⁴ Commentators, he says, who fail to make a proper distinction between the Iliad and the Odyssey are all wrong in their interpretations of the poems. He thinks⁵ that the associating of gods with Olympus is not normal with the poet of the Odyssey and with his time and that it is unsuited to the fundamental spirit and character of the poet's conception of divinity. The gods of the Odyssey are more spiritual, according to Luch, more abstractly conceived and seem more remote; consequently, Olympus as a mountain for such divinities would be unsuitable.⁶

¹Referring to Il. viii. 44, 53, 184, Finsler (Die Olympischen Szenen der Ilias, p. 13) says, "Die Götter sind nicht auf den Olymp sondern in Himmel gedacht." He also says (ibid., p. 14), "Während die Götter des alten A in Himmel wohnen, führt unsere Stelle den Olymp als Göttersitz ein."

²Ibid., p. 21: "Aber die Wendungen θεοὶ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες, etc., mit der Name des Zeus Ὀλύμπιος waren längst zu stehende Formeln erstarrt und der Name der Berge floss in den Begriff des Himmels über. Der Dichter der Apate hat den thessalischen Berg wieder zum Göttersitz erannt."

³The Homeric Olympus.

⁴Ibid., p. 49.

⁵Ibid., p. 158.

⁶Ibid.

Luch seems to take a view contrary to that of both ancient and modern interpreters of Homer. He says that it is futile to attempt a purely textual and literal interpretation of things Homeric. We must, he advises, interpret the spirit rather than the letter as far as possible. He makes no reference to modern research in Homeric inquiry. He mentions none of the recognised living English-speaking scholars, but follows closely the German interpreters in several respects. He says that we cannot accept the singleness of authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey as Aristarchus did. Luch states that modern criticism has pretty well fixed on about 800 B.C. as the date in which the present Iliad was written¹ and that the Odyssey was written in the late seventh century. One hardly knows what is meant by Luch's expression "modern criticism." The generally accepted date of the time of Homer seems earlier than the date set by Luch.² Luch, assuming that the poems were composed by different authors and that the Odyssey is later than the Iliad, believes that epithets applied to Olympus as a physical mountain are entirely absent from the former poem,³ that the epithets which are common to both poems occur less frequently in the Odyssey and in a less concrete manner than in the Iliad, and that the god-abode in the Odyssey does not stand for the Thessalian mountain. He goes on to say that the author of the Odyssey makes no attempt to give any in-

¹Op. cit., p. 115.

²Hecataeus, Eratosthenes, and other writers place Homer in the 12th or 11th century B.C. Herodotus (ii. 53. 2) places him in the latter half of the 9th century. Lang (World of Homer, p. 33) and stricter unitarians assert that he lived at the end of the Mycenaean Age. Allen (Homeric Catalogue, p. 21) and Scott (Unity of Homer, p. 3) place him about 900. Bury (Hist. of Greece, p. 66) says that he probably belongs to the 9th century B.C. Bergk says that the Iliad must have been written about 943 B.C.

³Op. cit., p. 167.

formation in the poem, by epithet or otherwise, of the conception of Olympus, as the author of the Iliad does, except in seven places, all rather vague. The evidence, he says, is too meagre to prove that Olympus is an actual mountain in the Odyssey.

The estimate of the value of these theories must be based upon an examination and interpretation of the material about Olympus found in both poems. The conception of Olympus in the Iliad will be discussed first. It is necessary to consider only the passages of the Iliad in which Olympus is found with a definite descriptive adjective or epithet and other passages which unequivocally show the poet's conception of the place. These passages are for the most part to be found in other works on the subject, but they are collected here for sake of convenience.¹

Olympus is mentioned in the Iliad with the following definite epithets and descriptive adjectives:

κατ' οὐλύμποιο καρήνων²
 ἐς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον³
 πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον⁴
 κορυφῇ πολυδαιράδος Ὀλύμποιο⁵
 μέγαν Ὀλυμπον⁶
 ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου⁷
 αἰπὺν Ὀλυμπον⁸

¹ The collection here given has been made as full as possible. Other accounts are not exhaustive.

²1. 44; 11. 167; 1v. 74; vii. 19; xxi. 187; xxiv. 121.

³1. 402; 11. 48; v. 398; viii. 199; 410; xv. 21, 79, 193; xviii. 142; xxiv. 468, 694.

⁴1. 420; xviii. 186.

⁵1. 499; v. 754; viii. 3.

⁶1. 530.

⁷1. 532; xiii. 243.

⁸v. 367, 868; xv. 84.

περὶ ῥίον οὐλύμποιο¹
κατὰ πτύχαs οὐλύμποιο²
ἄκρῳ ὀλύμπῳ³
ἀπ' οὐλύμπου νέφος⁴
ἀπ' οὐλύμποιο πολυπτύχου⁵

There are other passages which contain clauses and phrases which one may easily consider as indicating a material conception of Olympus in the Iliad:

"Ολυμπία δώματ' ἔχοντες⁶
πρὸs δῶμα Διδs⁷
Ἴν' ἀθανάτων ἔδος ἐστί⁸
Ἴκοντο θεῶν ἔδος⁹
Ἴκανε θεῶν ἔδος¹⁰
Ἴν' ἀθανάτων ἔδος ἐστί¹¹
μέγας οὐρανὸs οὐλυμπόs τε¹²

Other evidence in the Iliad that the gods dwell on Olympus and that the poet considers it a mountain may be presented. The palaces of Zeus and Hera, which were made by Hephaestus, are on Olympus. There are stables on the mountain for the horses of the gods and places for their carriages which are cared for by attendants. There are heralds there and every equipment which one may find in an earthly palace. We learn also that Hephaestus had his

¹ viii. 25; xiv. 154, 225; xix. 114.

² xi. 77; xx. 22.

⁴ xvi. 364.

³ xiii. 523.

⁵ xx. 5.

⁶ i. 18; ii. 13, 30, 67; v. 383; xi. 218; xiv. 408; xv. 115; xvi. 112.

⁷ v. 398.

¹⁰ v. 868.

⁸ v. 360.

¹¹ viii. 456.

⁹ v. 367.

¹² i. 497; v. 750; viii. 394.

house and workshop on Olympus.¹

The passage in the Iliad at the beginning of the eighth book has aroused a great deal of controversy among the commentators on Olympus. The Homeric critics of antiquity regarded Olympus here as the equivalent of the physical mountain.² At the beginning of this book Zeus called an assembly of the gods upon the topmost peak of many-ridged Olympus and admonished them not to participate in the war. Without any indication of change of place, the poet states³ that Zeus left Olympus for Mount Ida, leaving the other gods still in assembly on Mount Olympus. The physical conception is again expressed when the poet states that high Olympus quaked when Hera stirred upon her throne.⁴ The gods are still in the original place of assembly when Zeus commands Iris to go to Athena and Hera and bid them refrain from the war. Iris departed with the message to high Olympus⁵ and met the goddesses at the entrance of the gates of Olympus many-folded⁶ and stayed them. When Zeus returned from Ida,⁷ he found the gods on Olympus where he had left them. Further evidence points to a conception of the physical mountain. When Zeus returned to Olympus, Poseidon unyoked his steeds⁸ and set the car upon the stand and spread a cloth over it. Also when Hera and Athena return to Olympus at the command of Zeus, the Hours unyoked their horses and tethered them to their ambrosial mangers and leant the car-

¹xviii. 367.

²In a note to this passage Faesi says, "κορυφή κτλ. in lokativer Bedeutung; auf der höchsten Spitze usw. hier allegemein von der wohnung des Zeus gebraucht." Düntzer says, "Der Olympos wird hier als nicht auf der Erde rubend gedacht." Ameis (Anhang zu Homers Iliad, p. 85) says, "Ohne allen Grund vermutet Düntzer Aristarch 66 in dem verse einen späteren Zusatz: die Ortsbestimmung ist unentbehrlich."

³viii. 41.

⁴viii. 199.

⁵viii. 410.

⁶viii. 411.

⁷viii. 439.

⁸viii. 440.

riages against the shining faces of the gateway.¹ It is true that there is one reference which presents a difficulty: σεῖρήν μὲν κεν ἔπειτα περὶ ῥίον οὐλύμποιο / δησαίμην.² This difficulty was clearly solved by the poet himself when on other occasions he used modifiers with Olympus which clearly show that he meant a physical mountain. Strict consistency in every detail must not be sought in poetry.

In a note on viii. 25, 26 Leaf states that these lines were athetized by Zenodotus because the earth could not be suspended to a peak of Olympus which is part of itself. Leaf goes on to suggest that the poet of these lines has lost the real epic conception of Olympus and follows the later mythology that removed it from earth to heaven. Passages of this kind in the Iliad seem to be late because the older conceptions of mythology are probably remodelled so as to be mistaken for later additions by the commentators. When one takes this Olympian scene as a whole, it cannot be denied that the epic conception of Olympus is thoroughly expressed in it. The mountain is strictly in accordance with epic tradition, that is, if the epic tradition is to regard Olympus as a physical mountain in the poems. The gods are assembled on many ridged Olympus;³ the same mountain is again referred to three times⁴ in the same book with well-defined descrip-

¹viii. 435.

²viii. 25. Aristarchus, Eustathius, Faesi, Voss, and Heyne are of the opinion that the genuine mountain is meant. So the scholia. See Lehrs' Aristarchus, C I., p. 167. Seymour (Life in the Homeric Age, p. 395) seems to think that the reference to Olympus in viii. init., is almost equivalent to heaven. Finsler (Die Olympischen Szenen der Ilias, p. 31) says, "Wenn der Olymp ein Berg ist, wie kann dann Zeus die Erde zu diesem hinaufziehen. Wenn er den Himmel bedeuten soll, wo sind dann seine Zacken. Diese Unklarheit scheint aber beabsichtigt, um eine grotesque Wirkung hervorzubringen. Die Erhabenheit, die man hier hat finden wollen, sucht man vergebens."

³viii. 1 ff.

⁴viii. 199, 410, 411.

tive adjectives which leave no doubt as to the conception of Olympus by the poet.

We read that Thetis leapt from glittering Olympus into the sea,¹ and that Ate came from there quickly to the works of men.² The speed at which the gods travel is represented by Homer in other places as something similar to the above examples. Poseidon went from Samothrace to Aigae in four strides.³ Hera sped over the Thracian mountains and did not touch the ground with her feet⁴ Hera flew as swift as thought to Olympus.⁵ However it is said that Hephaestus fell from Olympus a whole day and night before he reached Lemnos,⁶ but Hephaestus here must be looked upon not as a spiritual being moving by its own volition but as a mere mass obeying physical laws. But even if this case of Hephaestus is regarded as an inconsistency, such inconsistencies, as Seymour says,⁷ would not trouble any of Homer's hearers. Demands of poetry must be considered here. In one case Homer is interested in the amazing speed of the gods, in the other he is interested in the length of Hephaestus' fall. Such passages⁸ have not been proved to be interpolations as Mackrodt and other commentators assert. Whatever apparent inconsistencies a few passages in the Iliad show, the epithets and descriptive adjectives that are applied to Olympus clearly indicate that the physical Olympus is meant in the poem. This is the consensus of opinion of the great majority of commentators beginning with Aristarchus.

Commentators hold different opinions as to the conception of Olympus in the Odyssey. Some assert that the idea of the

¹Il. i. 532.

⁵Il. xv. 83.

²Il. xix. 131.

⁶Il. i. 589.

³Il. xiii. 19.

⁷Op. cit., p. 417.

⁴Il. xiv. 225.

⁸Il. i. 589; viii. 1 f.

mountain is the same in the Odyssey as that presented in the Iliad, while others assert with equal emphasis that the physical aspect of the abode of the gods is entirely absent from the Odyssey.

Nitzsch states that there is not a single allusion which appears to characterize Olympus as a mountain in the Odyssey. He goes on to say that the adjectives such as snowy, many-topped, steep, and rugged are never applied to Olympus in the Odyssey as they are in the Iliad. The gods, he says, are described as dwelling behind the clouds and their seats on Olympus are painted in the same glowing colors as the Elysian fields. Mackrodt¹ and Luch, who believe that the poems are by different authors, say that the conception of Olympus is not the same in both poems. Luch states that the descriptive epithets applied to Olympus in the Odyssey had become stereotyped in the interval between the composition of the poems.² There is no way of finding out whether or not they were stereotyped in the Iliad. At any rate, Mackrodt and Luch give them their full meaning in the Iliad.

It may be questioned for instance why $\mu\alpha\chi\mu\phi\omicron\varsigma$ when applied to Olympus in the Odyssey should be considered different in meaning when it is applied to Olympus in the Iliad, particularly since it has been definitely shown by Professor Scott that the Iliad and the Odyssey "belong to the same era of linguistic development, and whether they are the work of one poet or not they are surely the product of the same age."³

All the places in the Odyssey in which Olympus occurs with a well defined adjective or epithet will now be given. Since it

¹See supra, p. 28 f.

²Op. cit., pp. 53, 66.

³"A Linguistic Test of the Iliad and Odyssey," Class. Phil., VI, 162 ff.

has been stated that the adjectives and phrases that are applied to Olympus have not the significance which they appear to have in the Odyssey, it is thought best to see if these adjectives, phrases, or epithets have changed their meaning when used as modifiers of words other than Olympus. An effort will be made to interpret the adjectives, phrases, and epithets from the language of the poems as it is only by analogy and comparison that one can arrive at the true meaning of the words and phrases.

Olympus occurs in the Odyssey with adjectives, phrases, and epithets as follows:

κατ' οὐλύμποιο καρήνων¹
 πρὸς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον²
 ὅσσαν ἐτ' οὐλύμπῳ κτλ.³
 πρὸς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον⁴
 μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον⁵
 ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου⁶
 κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον⁷
 κατ' οὐλύμποιο καρήνων⁸

Other expressions in the Odyssey referring to Olympus which have concrete significance are:

Ζηνὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν Ὀλυμπίου⁹
 Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἐχόντων¹⁰
 οἷ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσι¹¹

It will be noted that the modifying epithets of Olympus

¹ i. 102.	² x. 307.	³ xi. 315.
⁴ xv. 43.	⁵ xx. 73.	⁶ xx. 103.
⁷ xxiv. 351.	⁸ xxiv. 487.	⁹ i. 27.
¹⁰ iii. 377; xx. 79; xxi. 167.		
¹¹ vi. 240; viii. 331; xii. 337; xiv. 394; xviii. 180; xix.		

43.

enumerated above are the same as those applied to it in the Iliad.¹ As already stated, Mackrodt, Luch, and Finsler deny that anything definite can be inferred from these expressions to identify Olympus with a real mountain. κάρηνα is looked upon by them as a rather stereotyped expression in the Odyssey devoid of definite meaning. Finsler remarks, "Der Ausdruck κατ' Οὐλύμπιον καρήνων is typisches Sprachgut geworden, das beweist seine Verwendung in der Odyssee, die den thessalischen Berg gar nicht mehr kennt."² Mackrodt is of the same opinion, "Danach könnte man sich für berechtigt halten, 'Ολύμπιο κάρηνα an der einzigen Stelle der Odyssee mit 'Burgen des Olymp' Zu übersetzen."³ Luch's conclusion is the same as that of Finsler and Mackrodt. He states that κάρηνον might refer to a mountain in the Odyssey actual or ideal, yet, he goes on to say, the evidence for an actual mountain abode for the gods would be very slight. Mackrodt maintains that κάρηνα is only used once in the Odyssey⁴ and that the other passage⁵ in which it is used is unquestionably spurious as Aristarchus and Aristophanes athetized xlii. 297 to the end of xiv. The scholia say, πέρας τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας τοῦτο ποιοῦνται. Since this statement is so indefinitely expressed by Aristarchus and Aristophanes, modern Homeric scholars have thought that the scholia do not mean that the poem was brought to a close at this point. The passage⁶ in which κατ' Οὐλύμπιο καρήνων is mentioned must be regarded as genuine in view of conclusions of modern inquirers.⁷

¹See supra, p. 23 f.

²Die Olympischen Szenen der Ilias, p. 36.

³Op. cit.

⁴l. 102.

⁵Od. xxiv. 487.

⁶Od. xxiv. 486.

⁷Cf. Scott, "The Close of the Odyssey," Class. Jour., XII, 119 ff. and Class. Jour., VIII, 221; Shewan, "Continuation of the Odyssey," Class. Phil., IX, 35, 160; Allen, Origins and Transmis-

κάρηνα is mentioned in connection with Olympus in the Iliad in several passages¹ in which it is generally conceded it refers to a physical mountain, but in the Odyssey the contrary view is maintained by critics. κάρηνα is used in both poems in connections other than with Olympus, and in no case in either poem has it an abstract significance; it always refers to some material object. In the Iliad it refers to the heads of men and horses,² to cities,³ and to mountains.⁴ In the Odyssey it refers to hill tops,⁵ and to the strengthless heads of the dead.⁶ If the word has concrete significance in these cases, it must refer to a genuine mountain when used with Olympus.

μακρός is an adjective that refers to Olympus in the Odyssey. The critics mentioned above regard the expression μακρός "Ὀλυμπος as thoroughly stereotyped in the Odyssey and, consequently, of no value in determining the poet's conception of Olympus. Seymour says that μακρός is the only epithet applicable to a mountain in the Odyssey.⁷ The word refers to Olympus four times in the poem. Mackrodt and Luch regard its use in xxiv. 351 as spurious for the same reason for which they reject κάρηνα. The sum of their conclusions is that μακρός is stereotyped and concrete suggestion in the Odyssey and has nothing in it to render the thought of a mountain necessary.⁸ μακρός refers to Olympus

sions, pp. 217 ff.; Bury, "The End of the Odyssey," JHS (1922). Cf. also Cauer, Grundfragen, pp. 243 ff.

¹i. 44; ii. 167; iv. 74; vii. 19; and other places.

²ix. 407; xi. 158, 500; xiii. 260. ³ii. 117; ix. 407.

⁴ii. 735, 869; xx. 58. ⁵vi. 123; ix. 113.

⁶xi. 29, 49.

⁷Op. cit., p.418, n.3.

⁸Mackrodt (Der Olymp. in Ilias und Odyssee) says:

"Die Verbindung μακρός "Ὀλυμπος welche in der Ilias allein elfmal vorkommt, den damaligen menschen so geläufig war dass viele sich derselben bedient haben mö-

several times in the Iliad.¹ In the same poem it also refers to a bar,² spears,³ swords,⁴ a wave,⁵ a mountain,⁶ trees,⁷ and walls.⁸ In the Odyssey, besides referring to Olympus, it refers to pillars,⁹ trees,¹⁰ swords,¹¹ walls,¹² a trench,¹³ and mountains.¹⁴ It refers to days in the Odyssey,¹⁵--a use not to be found in the Iliad. From these examples it may be seen that μακρός in both poems refers to material things which have the property of height or direction. Since its use is of this character in respect to other things in Homer, it is rather strange that one can say that when it refers to Olympus it has no determining effect.

αἰγλήεις is another adjective which is used in connection with Olympus in the Iliad¹⁶ and the Odyssey.¹⁷ Seymour says that this adjective could refer as appropriately to the sky as to Olympus.¹⁸ Since there is no use of it in this connection in Homer, a proper interpretation of its meaning can be deduced only from its use in other connections in the poems. αἰγλήεις is used

gen, ohne sich dabei die eigenentliche Bedeutung von μακρός zu vergegenwärtigen." Cf. Luch, op. cit., p. 87.

¹l. 402; ii. 48; v. 398; viii. 199, 410; xv. 21, 79; xxiv. 468, 694.

²xii. 12.

³v. 664; xvi. 611; xvii. 527.

⁴v. 45, 660; xv. 745.

⁵ii. 144.

⁶xiii. 18.

⁷xi. 88.

⁸iv. 34; xxi. 507.

⁹viii. 66, 473.

¹⁰v. 238, 241; x. 510; xii. 432, 436.

¹¹xxii. 279, 293.

¹²iv. 34; xxi. 507.

¹³xxi. 121.

¹⁴x. 215.

¹⁵x. 470; xviii. 367; xxi. 301.

¹⁶i. 532; xiii. 243.

¹⁷xx. 103.

¹⁸Op. cit., p. 418, n. 3.

in reference to Olympus in the Iliad where there is overwhelming proof from the other epithets and phrases that Olympus is a concrete mountain. In the Odyssey it has the same significance. αἰγλήεις¹ is never applied to οὐρανός in Homer, yet, Luch says that αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου refers directly to the bright sky and not to the shining summit of Olympus². The expression, he states, has little effect in determining the actual abode of the gods. It is strange that Homer would use Ὀλυμπος in referring to the bright sky when οὐρανός stands definitely for the vault of heaven³ in all its uses in Homer and has several descriptive adjectives which are not applied to Olympus.⁴ It is significant that in the poems the same adjective is not used in reference both to Ὀλυμπος and οὐρανός. We do not find μακρός referring to the sky nor any other adjective⁵ that is applied to Olympus referring to οὐρανός. This fact in itself is conclusive evidence that Homer used certain adjectives to describe the material Olympus in both poems and others to apply to οὐρανός. It may be presumed then that if Homer had regarded Olympus in the Odyssey as equivalent to heaven, he would have applied μακρός and αἰγλήεις to οὐρανός in this poem as he applies these adjectives to Olympus. αἰψός in Homer is not applied to οὐρανός.⁶

¹Eustathius, Od. vi. 42: αἰγλήεντα γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ μεστὰ αἴθρης καὶ νεφέλαις ἀσπίαστα.

²Op. cit., p. 143.

³See Lehrs' Aristarchus, C I. 163.

⁴μέγας 5 times in the Il.; εὐρύς 12 times in Il., 21 in Od.; ἀστερόεις 7 in Il., 3 in Od.; πολύχαλκος once in Il., 2 in Od.; χάλκεος once in Il.; σιδήρεος 2 in Od.

⁵Adjectives that modify Olympus are: μακρός, αἰψός, αἰγλήεις, νιφόεις, πολύπτυχος, πολυδεδειράς, ἄκρος, μέγας. Of these adjectives μέγας refers once to Olympus (Il. i. 530).

⁶Lehrs, op. cit., p. 164, n. 103.

Finsler states: "Olymp und Himmel sind der Odyssee völlig synonym."¹ To substantiate this statement he calls attention to the passage in the Odyssey where before the murder of the suitors Odysseus asks for a sign from Zeus. The god heard his prayer

αὐτίκα δ' ἐβρόντησεν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου,
ὁψόθεν ἐκ νεφέων.²

He also cites the passage where the slave who was grinding the corn cried

ἧ μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος³

He says that Olympus, heaven, and the clouds are the same in these lines.⁴ But in the Iliad the poet compares Idomeneus, when he had donned his armor, with the lightning

. . . ἦν τε Κρονίων
χειρὶ λαβὼν ἐτίναξεν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου.⁵

When Achilles slew his adversary, in the course of exulting over him he says of Ocean

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς δειδοίκε Διὸς μεγάλιο κεραυνὸν
δεινὴν τε βροντὴν, ὅτ' ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν σμαραγῆση.⁶

If Olympus and heaven are synonymous in the passages referred to by Finsler in the Odyssey, they must be synonymous in the passages cited from the Iliad. But it is agreed by all that Olympus in the Iliad is a physical mountain.

Finsler also states that Olympus is not the physical in the story of the storming of heaven by Otus and Ephialtes.⁷ These giants threatened to raise the din of war against the Immortals in Olympus by piling Ossa on Olympus, and on Ossa Pelion so that

¹Homer, I², 164.

⁵xiii. 243.

²Od. xx. 103.

⁶Il. xxi. 198.

³Od. xx. 113.

⁷Homer, I², 164.

⁴Cf. Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, Ὀλυμπος.

they might have a pathway to the sky.¹ Finsler says, "Die 'Unsterblichen im Olymp' ist ein formelhafter ausdruck für die Himmelschen, der so abgenutzt ist, dass er den Dichter gar nicht hindert unter dem Olymp gleich darauf den thessalischen Berg zu verstehen." It can hardly be assumed from the reason given by Finsler that the name of Olympus has changed here as there are similar expressions to be found in the Iliad which may be interpreted in the same way. The expression 'Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες ἀθανάτοι,² in the Iliad does not materially differ from ἀθανάτοισιν ἐν 'Ολύμπῳ in the Odyssey. The same author states that in the Odyssey "Aber Telemachos sagt, dass Zeus und Athene hochoben in den wolken sitzen und spricht von Zeus der seine Wohnung im Äther hat." Finsler refers here to two expressions in the Odyssey to show that the poet of this book regarded Olympus and heaven as synonymous and that Olympus occurs in it only 'als Formel.' The passages referred to by Finsler are those where Athena and Zeus are supposed to dwell in the clouds and in heaven:

ὄψι περ ἐν νεφέεσσι καθεμένῳ³

ἀλλὰ τὰ γε Ζεὺς οἶδεν 'Ολύμπιος, αἰθέρι ναίων,⁴

But passages similar to these may be quoted from the Iliad:

Ζεῦ . . . αἰθέρι ναίων⁵

Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσι⁶

The passages quoted from the Odyssey by Finsler hardly substantiate his theory that Olympus is an idealized mountain in this poem, or, at all events, it may be assumed from the quotations from the Iliad that in this poem also the abode of the gods is

¹Od. xv. 313.

²Il. xiii. 67.

³Od. xvi. 264.

⁴Od. xv. 523.

⁵Il. 412; iv. 166; xiv. 258; xv. 610.

⁶xv. 192.

ideal. In both poems it is seen that Zeus dwells αἰθέρι.

The poetic technique which Homer adopts in the Odyssey when he describes Olympus just as he does other material things and places has led a great many of the readers of this poem to conclude that the poet intends to present a more idealized conception of the home of the gods here than in the Iliad. Olympus is described by the poet as the seat of gods unshaken by the winds, never wet with rain; nor does the snow come near it, but most clear air is spread above it cloudless, and the white light floats over it. The first suspicion that is cast on the verses is that the context requires no especial allusion to Olympus. The next objection that is raised is that φασί seems to condemn the whole passage as spurious. Some commentators and critics regard it as spurious,¹ while others regard it as genuine and equivalent to the concrete conception of Olympus.² Hayman says of Odyssey vi. 41 ff. that φασί seems to condemn the whole passage as an interpolation, though a very early one. It would then practically follow that every passage in which φασί is used in the poems would be held in suspicion and looked upon as interpolations. Perhaps it is thought that φασί at this point gives the idea that the poet is giving expression to a merely local belief and not one which was universal or in which the poet himself shared.

If other passages of a religious significance in which φασί occurs be considered, it can be seen that this verb is common to both poems and is used in them in a manner similar to that of the passage just discussed. φασί is used forty-one times in

¹La Roche remarks, "φασί ist unpassend im Munde des Epischen Dichters, der nicht Gerüchte erzählt, sondern durch dessen Mund die Muse spricht. Dieses φασί findet sich auch noch an anderen interpolirten Stellen."

²Ameis, op. cit., p. 85, referring to φασί says, "Von mündlicher Überlieferung ohne den Nebengriff der Unsicherheit."

each poem. It is used in the narration by the poet once in the Odyssey¹ and twice in the Iliad.² The word is used in the following places in the Iliad just as it is used in Odyssey vi. 41 ff.:

. . . . ὅθι φασὶ Τυφώεος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς.³

. . . . ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἔμμεναι εὐνάς.⁴

. . . . φασὶ περὶ φρένας ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,⁵

ἀνδρῶν ἡδὲ θεῶν φασ' ἔμμεναι.⁶

And it occurs in the Odyssey:

ἔξ ἡμέων γάρ φασι κάκ' ἔμμεναι.⁷

. . . . ὅν φασι θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον εἶναι.⁸

τὸν δέ τ' ἐμόν φασιν πατέρ' ἔμμεναι ἡδὲ τεκέσθαι.⁹

These passages have as much religious significance and perhaps more than the passage in the Odyssey which describes Olympus.

Apart from the religious implications noted above φασί is used in the Iliad in a variety of instances:

. . . . ὅν ῥά τέ φασιν

ὀξύτατον δέρκεσθαι ὑπουρανίων κετεηνῶν,¹⁰

. . . . οὐδ' ὅσα φασιν
"Ἴλιον ἐκτεῖσθαι, εὖ ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον,¹¹

. . . . τά σε προτὶ φασιν Ἀχιλλῆος δεδιδάχθαι,¹²

ὅν πέρ φασι θεῶς ἐξ ἔμμεναι.¹³

φασὶ σὲ μὲν Πηλῆος ἀμύμονος ἔκγονον εἶναι,¹⁴

. . . . τὸν δ' ἐμέ φασι / γείνασθαι 15

A similar variety of the uses of φασί is found in the Odyssey:

¹vi. 41 ff.

²ii. 783; xvi. 674.

³ii. 11. 783.

⁴xxiv. 615.

⁵xiii. 631.

⁶xix. 96.

⁷i. 33.

⁸xix. 267.

⁹iv. 387.

¹⁰xvii. 674.

¹¹ix. 401.

¹²xi. 831.

¹³vi. 100.

¹⁴xx. 206.

¹⁵xxi. 159.

τοῦ μ' ἔκ φασι γενέσθαι,¹

. . . . ὅν ποτέ φασι
σὺν σοὶ μαρνάμενον Τρώων πόλιν²

τρίῃς γὰρ δὴ μὶν φασιν ἀνάξασθαι γένε' ἀνδρῶν,³

τὴν περ τηλοῦ φασὶν Ἀχαιίδος ἔμμεναι αἴης.⁴

καὶ γὰρ Τρῳάδ' φασι μαχητὰς ἔμμεναι ἄνδρας,⁵

ἐμὲ δ' οὐκέτι φασὶ νέεσθαι.⁶

φασὶ μνηστῆρας σῆς μητέρος εἶνεκα πολλοῦς.⁷

These are some of the instances of the use of φασί in both poems. It cannot be said that the verb in these passages is used in a manner different from that of the passage of the Odyssey in which Olympus is described. The uses of the word in Iliad xiii. 631; xix. 96 should be noted. In the cases mentioned above φασί seems to imply little in the immediate context in which it is found. It seems to be equivalent to nothing more than the expression 'On dit' or 'Man sagt.' It is vain to try to explain the use of φασί in Odyssey vi. 41 ff. without referring to its uses in the poems as a whole as the verb here does not differ syntactically or otherwise from any of its uses in Homer. The same may be said of every instance in which the verb is used. It cannot be maintained that the passage in the Odyssey is the only one of a religious character in which the verb is used in direct narration. It is used in Iliad ii. 783 in direct narration in a manner somewhat similar to that of the Odyssey.

The use of the verb φασί in the description of Olympus in the passage of the Odyssey does not justify the charge of interpolation against the passage any more than it does against the

¹i. 220.

²iii. 85.

³iii. 245.

⁴xiii. 249.

⁵xviii. 261.

⁶xi. 176.

⁷iii. 212.

other forty instances of its use in the Odyssey and forty-one in the Iliad. It seems to be used in a merely colloquial manner in the poems with little signification on the part of those who use it. La Roche would regard as interpolated every passage in which παοί is used. So would Mackrodt and other Homeric critics.

Olympus in Odyssey vi. 41 ff. is described in glowing poetic terms. It is this poetic description of Olympus that is chiefly responsible for the theory that Olympus in the Odyssey is more idealized than it is in the Iliad and that the mountain is no longer the abode of the gods. This description, like others in the Odyssey, springs entirely from the subject that is in hand at the moment. In the passage in which Proteus tells Menelaus that he will be conveyed to the Elysian plain¹ Homer gives a poetical description of the plain. He states that there is no snow there, nor any great storm, nor any rain, but that always Ocean sends forth a breeze of the shrill west to blow cool on men.² It should be noticed that at the mention of the cave of Calypso there follows a poetic description of the grotto, the nymph, and the immediate vicinity. In the passage³ which tells of the arrival of Odysseus at the palace of Alcinous, it may be seen that at the mention of the palace the poet gives us a description of it in glowing poetic form. The floating island of Aeolus is described in the same way.⁴ Homer describes Olympus at the mention of the mountain with the same poetic technique that he uses in describing the Elysian fields, the cave of Calypso, the palace of Alcinous, and the island of Aeolus.⁵ These passages show the method of

¹Od. v. 566 ff.

³Od. vii. 81.

²Od. v. 55 ff.

⁴Od. x. 1 ff.

⁵Cf. the description of Zeus' couch beneath which grew fresh new grass, dewy lotus, crocus, and hyacinth, Il. xiv. 346 ff.

Homer's description of things and places. The beauty in these different places and things is perceived and in a variety of ways by the poet; he presents it in the concrete in such a way that it is entirely permeated by the spiritual whence it derives its meaning for the reader. Because of this poetic language Olympus is regarded as idealized, and, as stated before, those who say that Olympus is more etherealized in the Odyssey than in the Iliad make reference only to this famous passage in the Odyssey.¹ In addition to saying that the mountain is ideal in the Odyssey, Nitzsch states that the gods are described in this poem as dwelling behind the clouds. No confirmation of this statement can be found in the Odyssey, except references in two passages² for which parallels in the Iliad have already been cited.³

The word Olympus occurs oftener in the Iliad than in the Odyssey.⁴ The subject matter of the poems could easily justify the difference in the number of times. The Iliad is given up to war, and, since the gods participate in the battles, there are more occasions for the mention of the mountain. Zeus had his

¹Henry Brown, Homeric Study, p. 97. This is also the case with Monro, Nitzsch, and others.

²xvi. 264; xv. 523.

³Ameis (op. cit.) says of Od. vi. 41 ff., "Diese ideale, an dieser Stelle freilich nicht recht motivierte Schilderung des Olymp hat die auch sonst hervortretende Vorstellung zur Voraussetzung dass der Berg als Gottersitz in den Äther und den Himmel hineinrage." Bergk (Griechische Literaturgeschichte, I, 746), who says the idealized mountain is presented, says, "... und die Schilderung des Olymp die sich daran schliesst, entspricht wohl dem Bilde von dem idealen Götterberge, oder von dem Lande der Seligen abgeschiedenen Geister aber nicht dem thessalischen Gebirge mit seinen schneebedeckten Gipfeln." Other German editors and critics such as Mackrodt, Faesi, Bernhardt, Kirchhoff, Nauck, and Düntzer reject these verses as a later addition. Merry (ad. loc.) regards Olympus in the passage as equivalent to the Olympian conception expressed in the poems.

⁴Il. 116 times; Od. 29 times.

court on Olympus. From there he dispenses the fortune of war,¹ consequently, ceaseless activity goes on there between Zeus and the other gods. Generally the action of the Iliad is under divine agency, therefore, it is unavoidable that Olympus is mentioned more often in the Iliad than in the Odyssey.

One may effectively apply the principles of the criticism of Olympus in the Iliad and the Odyssey to individual books of either poem and show that the book in which Olympus was used less often was not a constituent part of the poem to which the criticism was applied. One may argue, for instance, that the ninth book of the Iliad is later than the first book because the word Olympus occurs twenty times in the latter book and not at all in the former. The subject matter of the ninth book does not require the mention of Olympus. The subject matter of the Odyssey did not require the frequent mention of the mountain. If the gods in the Odyssey were found going to and from οὐρανός with the same dispatch as they go to and from Olympus in the Iliad, there could be no hesitation in saying that the poet avoided mentioning the concrete Olympus and substituted for it the etherealized expression οὐρανός.

In the Odyssey the poet recounts achievements very different from those which took place at Troy. The hero of the poem marks the reminiscence of an earlier ideal, a romanticism of a far earlier time than Homer's. In this poem we seem to discover the poet's own emotions, and his conscious purpose is to tell a great and moving story. The nature of this story does not demand the introduction of all the divine machinery of the Iliad. The Odyssey differs from the Iliad in the activities, pursuits, and sentiments of its characters. All these are directed by human

¹Il. i. 128; ii. 116.

choice, and the persons involved find little reason to apply to Olympus for help in the execution of their plans. It was impossible for artistic reasons for Homer to turn his eyes from the activities of his heroes in the Iliad. In the Odyssey where the hero does not represent the sentiments, the beliefs, and aspirations of the warrior class, the poet can revel in the peaceful life, the love of magnificence, and the enjoyment of the beauty of scenery and art. Since a good deal of the poem is taken up with such themes as these, there is no need for divine interference, and Homer is not concerned about theological matters. The entire theme of the Odyssey is derived from folk-lore and mythology and is woven into an artistic plot. Perhaps the greatest reason that Olympus is not mentioned more often in the Odyssey is that a larger part of this book is taken up with events which are within human control,¹ or which lie purely in the realm of fairy tale where explanations are not necessary.

In recent years Professor Scott has shown in a series of articles² that all parts of Homer reflect the same stage of linguistic development and that each book of the Iliad is knit with the Odyssey and each book of the Odyssey is knit with the Iliad.³ In these articles Dr. Scott proves that both poems are in the same position in respect to the use of patronymics and language in

¹See Professor Scott, "Zeus in the Iliad and the Odyssey-- A Chhorizontic Argument," Class. Jour., XII (1916-17), 478 ff.; Homer and His Influence (Boston, 1925), pp. 54 ff. Cf. Woodhouse, The Composition of Homer's Odyssey, chaps. xx, xxv.

²"Patronymics as a Test of the Relative Age of the Homeric Books," Class. Phil., VII, 293-301; "Odyssean Words Found but in One Book of the Iliad," ibid., XVIII, 58 f.; "Words Found in Iliad and in One Book of Odyssey," ibid., VI, 48-55; "The Relative Antiquity of the Iliad and the Odyssey as Tested by Abstract Nouns," Class. Rev., XXIV, 8-55. Cf. Stawell, Homer and the Iliad, p. 251 and Shewan, The Lay of Dolon, p. 238.

³Class. Phil., VI, 55.

general. He shows also that, both in number and formation, the abstract nouns of the Iliad and the Odyssey belong to the same period of linguistic development.¹ If, then, there can be an abstract conception of Olympus in the Odyssey, it follows from the conclusions of Professor Scott that the same must be said of Olympus in the Iliad. These linguistic tests undoubtedly prove that the Iliad and the Odyssey do not belong to different periods of antiquity.

The scholars of antiquity, as a whole, believed in the unity of the conception of Olympus in the poems of Homer. The Roman poets presented the same conception of the mountain. The great majority of modern scholars are in agreement with the views of Aristarchus and the other early commentators. The most convincing proof is the language of the poems. This and the proofs given above bear ample testimony of the uniformity of the conception of Olympus in the Iliad and the Odyssey.

¹Class. Rev., XXIV, 10.

CHAPTER II

ZEUS

The most primitive theories of man's religion imply a belief in a supernatural agent, more powerful than man, mysterious, capricious, formidable, and one who, at any cost, must be appeased and propitiated. The gods in early times were looked upon as powerful before they were believed to be beneficent, merciful, or just. With the growth of religion from time immemorial Zeus¹ assumed the prerogative of omnipotence. It cannot be said how long this conception of the god was in existence, before Homer's time. The deity appears to have occupied, from the earliest times of which we have any record, a position of acknowledged supremacy over all the other gods.

In the Iliad Zeus is enthroned on Mount Ida as well as on Mount Olympus. His cults in Troy, on Mount Ida, and at Dodona²

¹Müller (Origin and Growth of Rel., pp. 143, 270 ff.) has shown that the supreme divinity of Greece has the same origin as the Vedic gods. He says the word Zeus is the same word as the Sanskrit Dyaus 'the sky.' Dyaus is developed from the root div or dya 'to shine.' It was this activity of shining and illuminating that was embodied in the name Dyaus. Dyaus was found in the Veda in that combination in which it became the name of the supreme deity in Greek and Latin. Corresponding to Jupiter and Zeus, ἡνίοχος we find in the Veda Dyaush Pitar. Zeus or Jupiter, originally meaning 'the illuminator' was gradually elaborated into the name God. Cf. Welcker, Götterlehre, I, 131, 133 ff., who agrees with the above definition. For a contrary view see Overbeck, Beiträge Zur Erkenntniss . . . , p. 26.

²On the oracle of Zeus at Dodona, see Ernst von Lasaulx, Das Pelasgische Orakel des Zeus Zu Dodona and Dümmler, Phil., 1897, pp. 6 ff. On Zeus at Dodona, see Welcker, Götterlehre, I, 199; Bergk, Phil., XXXII, 126; Niese, Rhein. Mus., XXXII, 288; Roberts, JHS, I, 228; Archiv für Religionw., XXII, 2 ff.; Cook, "Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak," Class. Rev., XVII, 174 ff.; Unger, Phil., XX, 577, XXIV, 390. Cf. Eustathius Il. xvi. 233; Hesiod Op. 18.

are the only ones specifically mentioned in the Iliad. It is definitely seen from the Iliad that Zeus was worshipped in the Acropolis at Troy.¹ Zeus on Mount Ida is simply the Olympian god enthroning himself on the mountain to take a closer position to the scene of the war at Troy. Homer closely associates Zeus of the Troad with Mount Ida and frequently mentions Gargaros where Hera finds him.² It is to this mountain he summons Apollo,³ and from here he goes when he proceeds to the council of Mount Olympus. In his connection with Mount Ida the physical characteristics of Zeus are outstanding; he thunders and sends gusts of wind from there.⁴ He encircles the mountain with a cloud.⁵

In Homer the name of Zeus occurs, in one place at least, as a simple designation of the sky or the light of day;⁶ generally, however, it refers to a well-defined anthropomorphic deity who stands in some relation, near or remote, to the vault of heaven. It cannot be doubted that Zeus was originally a sky god; all his epithets and attributes unmistakably combine to prove it as will be shown later. These epithets and attributes, as a rule, refer to heavenly phenomena. As a sky god Zeus has as his most remarkable attributes thunder and lightning, which are mentioned together or separately.⁷ Such epithets as these would be applied to Zeus while the anthropomorphic imagination was still largely primitive

¹ xxii. 169 f.; iv. 48.

² Il. xiv. 292.

³ Il. xv. 147.

⁴ viii. 170.

⁵ Il. xv. 594.

⁶ Il. xiii. 837. Cf. Cook, "Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak," Class. Rev., XVII, 174 ff. and Zeus, I, 7.

⁷ Il. ii. 353; vii. 478; ix. 236; x. 5; xi. 66; xiii. 242, 796; xiv. 414, 417; xv. 117, 377; xxi. 198. Od. v. 128, 131; vii. 249; xii. 415; xiv. 305; xx. 103, 113; xxi. 413; xxiii. 330.

and would serve to indicate the formidable side of his nature.¹

Homer presents the oldest and most primitive views of the deity; yet Zeus, the thunderer, had become moralized long before his time. Of the different physical epithets applied to Zeus the accusative singular εὐρύοπα 'wide-eyed' is by far the most ancient. It belongs to a long forgotten epoch of the language and points to Zeus as the bearer of the light of day. Zeus in Homer is the supreme and practically the sole god in the physical world. He can perform the diverse functions in the physical world and is identified with Hades.² His especial province is weather phenomena, and consequently, he is a heavenly god as his epithets show.³ These several epithets are used in both poems as attributes of the deity, but they occur more often in the Iliad where the word Zeus is used a greater number of times. Homer does not make it clear whether or not Zeus is the creator of the world or of man. In two places Oceanus is regarded as the father of gods and men.⁴ Yet we find in a passage in the Odyssey⁵ a complaint uttered against Zeus that he has no pity on men "whomsoever he brings forth."⁶ In both poems⁷ Zeus is called 'the father of gods and

¹ Gruppe, Gr. Myth., chap. iii, n. 3.

² Il. ix. 457.

³ These epithets are στεροππηγέρετα, used once in the Il.; ἀργικέρανος, 3 times in the Il.; ἐρίγδουπος, 8 times in the Il.; 3 times in the Od.; ἐπιβρομέτης, once in the Il.; ἀστεροπητής, 4 times in the Il.; τερπικέρανος, 8 times in the Il., 7 times in the Od.; μελαινεφής, 28 times in the Il., 7 times in the Od.; νεφεληγέρετα, 8 times in the Il., 3 in the Od.; εὐρύοπα, 16 times in the Il., 7 times in the Od.

⁴ Il. xiv. 246, 302.

⁵ xx. 201.

⁶ For an interpretation of this passage, see Welcker, Der Zeit. für die Alterthumsw., pp. 951 ff.

⁷ Il. ii. 371; v. 757, 762; viii. 236; xiii. 631. Od. iv. 341; vii. 311; xvii. 132; xviii. 235; xx. 201; xxiv. 376. See Welcker, Götterlehre, I, 179 and Overbeck, op. cit., pp. 52 ff.

men'; this epithet, however, expresses a moral or spiritual idea rather than any real theological belief concerning the origin of the universe or human beings. There are several epithets¹ in the poems which describe the relation of Zeus to the order of the world and mankind. These epithets are comparatively few in number in comparison with the number of epithets that refer to natural phenomena, particularly in the Iliad.

The spiritual and moral functions of Zeus, as well as the physical ones, are presented in both the Iliad and Odyssey. When the progress of religion demanded of the supreme deity more than merely physical qualities, he became a many sided god, the god of hospitality, the political god and the god of laws. Everything concerning the state fell under his care; it is he who gave the sceptre and law to Agamemnon. We find the epithets *ἱετήσιος* and *ἐρκεῖος* applied to Zeus in the Odyssey. These epithets are in accordance with the moral and religious tone of this poem and were used by worshippers who looked upon the deity as capable of shielding man from harm.² This conception of Zeus is also found in the Iliad where he is looked upon as the wise ruler, the actual administrator, and the god from whom all things come.³ However undeveloped certain attributes of the deity may have been in the religions of primitive times, in the higher religions the most prominent attribute of the divine character has been justice. Justice as an attribute of Zeus in Homer is naturally tempered with the more humane qualities of pity and mercy--features of the deity which are often mentioned in both poems.

Some critics believe that the conception of Zeus is different in different books of the Iliad. An effort will now be

¹μητίετα, ξένιος, ἱετήσιος, ἐρκεῖος.

²Od. xiv. 184.

³Il. xiii. 631.

made to show that the conception of Zeus is the same throughout the poem. Wilamowitz, as already stated,¹ maintains that the gods in book one and in the parts connected with it are different from those in the remaining parts of the poem. The books which Wilamowitz mentions as related to one another, i-vii, xi-xv, will be examined together with xx and xxi in an effort to discover whether or not the features which Wilamowitz ascribes to the gods are the only ones mentioned. To complete his criticism of the divinities in these books Wilamowitz should not have overlooked the other functions of the Homeric gods. Finsler maintains that the poet has presented a view of the deities in the Olympic scenes different from that expressed in the rest of the Iliad. There is no necessity of dealing separately with the functions of Zeus in these parts since they will be included in the following paragraph which deals with the functions of Zeus in the whole poem.

The different functions and characteristics of Zeus found in the books designated by Wilamowitz will be given so that comparison may be made with the remaining part of the poem to find out whether different sections of the Iliad contain different conceptions of the god. Perhaps it is in the higher spiritual plane that we can learn the poet's idea of his deities rather than in the crudities which are ascribed to them. In the first book of the Iliad Zeus is represented as the dispenser of battles and the god who gives victory² and glory.³ The first intimation of his omnipotence comes in this book which designates him as the lord of the other gods.⁴ In the second book he also grants victory⁵ and is represented as showing pity,⁶ which is one of the highest attributes that Homer could apply to his deity. He is proclaimed

¹ See Introduction (of the complete dissertation, on file only in the University of Chicago Libraries).

² i. 128.

³ i. 279.

⁴ i. 580.

⁵ ii. 38.

⁶ ii. 63.

by the poet in this book as possessing the highest power¹ and is addressed as the most glorious, and the greatest whose dwelling is ἐν αἰθέρι.² Zeus is called on at the sacrificial oath.³ As the god that is most glorious and great he is prayed to by the people.⁴ It is from him that the Homeric man expects justice.⁵ He is the supreme deity⁶ and in his hands is the granting of victory.⁷ Zeus is looked upon as the avenger of liars.⁸ It is he who awards triumph or defeat in warfare.⁹ His anger is feared by all the other gods.¹⁰ No man should pray to the deity with unclean hands.¹¹ Hector realised that Zeus has the power to save the Trojans.¹² Zeus is commonly called on in all parts of the Iliad and the Odyssey to witness oaths. He performs this duty in book seven of the Iliad. In the eleventh book, which is one of the books connected with book one by Wilamowitz, he is represented as the deity who gives renown and victory¹³ and as the weather god.¹⁴ Zeus sends the rain, thunder, snow, and showers.¹⁵ He makes a promise and confirms it with a nod of his head.¹⁶ He is depicted as the king of mortals and immortals¹⁷ and as the counsellor.¹⁸ In another book which Wilamowitz connects with the first book as representing the deities as sensual and pleasure loving, Homer presents Zeus as a deity who excels both gods and

¹ii. 116.

²ii. 412.

³iii. 307.

⁴iii. 276, 320.

⁵iii. 350.

⁶iv. 66.

⁷iv. 84.

⁸iv. 235.

⁹v. 225.

¹⁰v. 421, 759, 760, 872.

¹¹vi. 266.

¹²vi. 526.

¹³xi. 289, 300, 318.

¹⁴xi. 493, 753.

¹⁵xii. 25, 252, 279, 286.

¹⁶xii. 235.

¹⁷xii. 241.

¹⁸xii. 292.

men in wisdom and from whom all things come.¹ In the same book the deity gives counsel, excellence in war, knowledge, and understanding to the hearts of men.² He is also presented in this book in a physical capacity³ and as the god who gave victory to the Trojans.⁴ He sends the thunder,⁵ which is dread to men.⁶ The poet shows the god's omnipotence when he asserts that the will of Zeus is supreme.⁷ Zeus took pity on Hector⁸ and it was by his will that the hero returned to battle.⁹ It is in the god's power to avert the pitiless day from the Greeks.¹⁰ One can easily discover the person to whom Zeus gives assistance.¹¹ Zeus is mightier than anything of a physical nature;¹² against him it is impossible to contend.¹³ The Trojans were delivered into the hands of Achilles to be destroyed by the supreme deity.¹⁴

The different functions of Zeus in the remaining books of the Iliad will next be given for comparison with those already mentioned in order to show that the poet presents a uniform conception of the deity throughout the poem. Zeus is depicted at the beginning of book eight as a vain braggart. It is he who gives victory¹⁵ and glory¹⁶ to Hector. A man cannot ward off the will of Zeus,¹⁷ for he is mightier than all the gods.¹⁸ The poet states that the father of gods and men is affected with pity.¹⁹ It is in the power of Zeus to lay waste Troy.²⁰ Thunder is sent by the deity from Mount Ida.²¹ He inflicted with blindness

¹ xiii. 631.	⁸ xv. 12.	¹⁵ viii. 140.
² xiii. 732.	⁹ xv. 293.	¹⁶ viii. 141.
³ xiii. 242	¹⁰ xv. 375.	¹⁷ viii. 143.
⁴ xiii. 347.	¹¹ xv. 490.	¹⁸ viii. 211.
⁵ xiv. 19, 54.	¹² xxi. 190.	¹⁹ viii. 245.
⁶ xiv. 417.	¹³ xxi. 193.	²⁰ viii. 286.
⁷ xiv. 69.	¹⁴ xxi. 216.	²¹ viii. 140, 170.

Agamemnon, on whom he had bestowed the sceptre and law.¹ The poet nere again depicts Zeus as the god who has the power to lay waste cities and who is possessed of the highest power.² The man whom Zeus loves is worth many.³ The highest tribute that Homer pays to the supreme deity in either poem is to be found in the ninth book of the Iliad. The poet presents him here as the god of mercy,⁴ who hears prayers and grants forgiveness in answer to them.⁵ Illos is saved from the foe because the hand of Zeus is held over it.⁶ Toils and labors, which are men's lot from birth, come from Zeus.⁷ He is the wise counsellor⁸ and is called on as a witness.⁹ It is from him that lightning, hail, rain, and snow come.¹⁰ The counsel of Zeus is all powerful and ever prevails.¹¹ The gift of victory is within his power. Prayers are offered to the father of gods and men by Achilles that his desire be fulfilled.¹² The deity may accept or reject the prayers of suppliants.¹³ He pities the combatants.¹⁴ He is the god who sends the tempest and rain.¹⁵ Hector is rendered weak by Zeus and unfit for the combat.¹⁶ The intention of the supreme deity is ever the strongest.¹⁷ Zeus is the god who gives glory, honor,¹⁸ and victory.¹⁹ He is the highest orderer and the helper in battle.²⁰ From him come strength and valour.²¹ The heart of Zeus is melted in grief as he sees Diomedes weep.²² The Trojans are evilly dealt

¹ ix. 18, 98.	⁹ x. 329.	¹⁶ xvi. 233.
² ix. 24.	¹⁰ x. 5.	¹⁷ xvii. 176.
³ ix. 117.	¹¹ xvi. 103.	¹⁸ xvii. 251.
⁴ ix. 172.	¹² xvi. 233.	¹⁹ xvii. 33, 453, 627.
⁵ ix. 502 ff.	¹³ xvi. 250.	²⁰ xvii. 339.
⁶ ix. 686.	¹⁴ xvi. 431.	²¹ xvii. 498.
⁷ x. 71, 189.	¹⁵ xvi. 298, 365, 386.	²² xvii. 648.
⁸ x. 104.		

with by Zeus.¹ It is the pleasure of Zeus to fulfill or refuse men's purposes.² He inflicted Agamemnon with madness³ and took away his understanding.⁴ Homer is not at all times consistent in depicting Zeus in the poems. At times he seems to believe in the omniscience of Zeus and again he leaves no doubt that Zeus is incapable of seeing and knowing all things.⁵ It is within the power of Zeus to give victory to whomsoever he wishes.⁶ He is called upon as a witness to an oath and is represented as the highest and best of the gods.⁷ He has pity for those who sorrow.⁸ Although Zeus assisted Hector more than once in battle, he finally gave him to Achilles to be foully dragged.⁹ Achilles calls on Zeus, the highest and best of the gods, as witness that he will not wash the stain of battle from his body until he has buried Patroclus.¹⁰ Although Zeus had handed Hector over to Achilles to be foully treated, he is angry at the hero for cruelly marring Hector's body.¹¹ He has pity on the aged Priam¹² and sends him a messenger to guide him to Achilles' tent to ransom his son's body.¹³ Achilles is afraid to do violence to the aged king, his suppliant, and transgress the commandment of Zeus.¹⁴

Geddes,¹⁵ following Grote,¹⁶ expresses an opinion about the theology of the Iliad somewhat similar to that of Finsler and Wilamowitz. He states that books one, eight, and eleven to twenty-

¹ xviii. 292.

⁶ xix. 224.

¹¹ xxiv. 68.

² xviii. 328.

⁷ xix. 259.

¹² xxiv. 314, 333.

³ xix. 87.

⁸ xix. 340.

¹³ xxiv. 160.

⁴ xix. 137.

⁹ xxi. 403.

¹⁴ xxiv. 570, 586.

⁵ xix. 90.

¹⁰ xxiii. 24.

¹⁵ The Problem of the Homeric Poems, pp. 126 ff.

¹⁶ Hist. of Greece, II, 236, 262, 273.

three inclusive, which he calls the Achilleid,¹ are older than the remaining books of the Iliad. He admits the supremacy of Zeus on Olympus in the Achilleid, but states that this supremacy is of recent acquisition attained only after a struggle with rebellious and partially subjugated powers.² According to Geddes Zeus has less of the ethical and more of the violent physical force in the Achilleid and is here a preeminently atmospheric god. Geddes admits that this atmospheric character of Zeus is still frequently acknowledged in the remaining parts of the Iliad and in the Odyssey but with less amplitude of form.³ The table which Geddes himself compiles⁴ shows that the ethical epithets of Zeus are more numerous in the Achilleid than in the rest of the poems. He admits that on this function of the deity he does not get striking results, but states that the ethical ideas of the god on the whole do not belong to the Achilleid. As stated above, Zeus is the supreme deity in all parts of the poems. It is an ill-founded hypothesis of Geddes that the conception of Zeus from the point of view of theology is different in different parts of the poems.

When the activities of the gods in the fifth book are ex-

¹Miss Stawell (Homer and the Iliad, p. 9), arguing for the inclusion of Il. xxiii and xxiv in the Achilleid, shows that the style and language of these books correspond in every way to that of the Achilleid.

²Op. cit., p. 130.

³As an atmospheric god Zeus is mentioned 27 times in the Il. and 22 in the Od. There is no difference in the intensity of the exercise of this function of the god in the poems. Geddes gives examples to show that the violent side of Zeus as the weather god is more prevalent in the Achilleid than in the rest of the Iliad or in the Odyssey. There are examples in the remaining parts of the Iliad and in the Odyssey in which this character of Zeus is presented as more violent than in the Achilleid. Cf. Il. 11. 781; x. 5. Od. xii. 415.

⁴Op. cit., p. 138.

amined, no characteristics can be found here which differ from those in any part of the Iliad. Wilamowitz contends that this book is the oldest book of the poem and repudiates the idea that the conception of the gods set forth in it should be attributed to Homer. There is nothing inconsistent with the characters imputed to the gods in this book when compared with the rest of the Iliad. The wounding of Aphrodite and Ares is no less of a burlesque presentation¹ of the divinities than the spectacle of their being arrayed against one another in book twenty of the poem. If the crude presentation of the gods is to be found in some books of the Iliad, the more enlightened view of the chief Homeric gods is present in each individual book. Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephaestus contribute nothing of a moral or religious nature to Homeric religion. It is impossible to divide the Iliad into sections according to the conceptions of the deity expressed in different parts of the poem because the poet sometimes uses his divine machinery for artistic purposes. It is the purer morality which Homer ascribes to his divinities that gives uniformity and consistency to the individual members of his pantheon rather than the immoralities and crudities which he imputes to them. If the poet, as Wilamowitz asserts, depicted his deities as immortal men and pleasure loving in book one of the Iliad and the parts connected with it, we could hardly expect Homer in these books to ascribe to Zeus qualities that properly belong to a just and omnipotent deity. But in these books the poet ascribes the highest power to Zeus and portrays him as the father of gods and men and the deity who dispenses justice.

¹Homer's burlesque treatment of the gods is set forth in both the Iliad and the Odyssey: Il. i. 531-611; xiv. 153-360; xv. 1-148; xviii. 369-617; xxi. 385-514. Od. iv. 351-570; viii. 266-369; xii. 374-390. Cf. Nestle, "Anfänge Einer Götterburlesque Bei Homer," Neue Jahrb. für Phil., XV, 161-82.

The more advanced forms of religious thought in the poems invest the person of the supreme deity with ethical and spiritual attributes. The most primitive method of depicting the gods was the crude physical and elemental one which is at times to be found in the poems. In Homer Zeus is the one god who supervises the moral order generally; in this presentation of the deity the poet approaches the conception of a higher religion. The human and divine elements attributed to Zeus and the other gods in Homer are a source of contradictions which have been found difficult to reconcile in the theology of the poems. In some parts of the poems there appears the crude popular belief that a god may espouse the cause of goodness, justice, and morality without being good himself. This belief is found at times imbedded in the fabric of the poems although the enlightened idea of the god is more usual and permeates all the books of the Iliad and Odyssey.

So far the conception of Zeus in the different parts of the Iliad has been discussed. The attributes and functions that are ascribed to the deity in this poem will next be compared with those of the Odyssey. As stated above,¹ some critics believe that the poet depicts the gods in the Iliad as capricious, selfish, and cruel, but that in the Odyssey he presents them with the excellences that should adorn divine beings. A study of Zeus in both poems shows that this belief is unwarranted.

In the Odyssey, as well as in the Iliad, Zeus is represented as the fickle and capricious disposer of the destiny of man and their deeds and also as the promoter of evil. In the former poem it is stated that Zeus granted that the Greeks take the city of Troy,² but prepared for them a terrible return³ and de-

¹See Introduction.

²iii. 119.

³iii. 160.

vised for them a hateful path.¹ Odysseus saw in Zeus his only safety,² but the god laid trouble on him on his return from Troy³ and crushed his ship.⁴ The deity took pity on the hero and assented to his return to Ithaca and even sent a message to him to leave Ogygia;⁵ yet he sent dire affliction on him and his companions⁶ and devised for them another path than the one home.⁷ The capricious attitude of the god is further exemplified in the Odyssey when he gave victory to the Greeks though he hated them⁸ and brought woes on the sons of Atreus.⁹ Although Zeus ordains that Odysseus shall return home and avenge the transgressions of the wooers in his palace, he permits them to continue their untoward conduct towards the hero's household by delaying his return and devising evil for him¹⁰ and breaking his ship to pieces in the midst of the sea.¹¹ The poet again shows Zeus as the promoter and deviser of evil when he had cast Odysseus into the sea and had slain all his companions.¹² After inflicting this punishment on Odysseus, the god gave him a mast of the ship to save him.¹³ It was Zeus' grudge against Odysseus that caused him to lose his men at sea.¹⁴ The god hated Odysseus above all men though he had a god-fearing spirit¹⁵ and he sent the hero wandering after making him desolate of all.¹⁶ Zeus refused to accept the sacrifice of-

¹iii. 288; v. 305.

²v. 408.

³ix. 38.

⁴v. 132.

⁵vii. 263.

⁶ix. 52.

⁷ix. 262.

⁸xi. 559.

⁹xi. 436.

¹⁰xiv. 235, 243.

¹¹xii. 385, 415; xiv. 306.

¹²xiv. 273.

¹³xiv. 310.

¹⁴xix. 275.

¹⁵xix. 364.

¹⁶xvii. 424.

ferred him by Odysseus¹ because he was divising how Odysseus and his companions might utterly perish.

A good example of the depicting of Zeus as the promoter of evil is found in the twelfth book of the Odyssey. Odysseus and his companions probably would have left the island of Thrinacia before the slaughtering of the cattle of Helios if Zeus had not prevented them by arousing against them an angry wind with wondrous tempest.² They were detained in the island for a whole month by the continuous blowing of the South Wind; their store of food was exhausted and they were forced by hunger to kill the sacred cattle. Odysseus realized that Zeus and the other blessed gods had plotted against him to his undoing.³ He was also well aware that some god was planning evil against him⁴ when Eurylochus was encouraging his companions to sacrifice the cattle of the Sun. Is Zeus not the promoter of evil for Odysseus and his men in the passage⁵ where the poet says that the evil fate of Zeus brought them to the island of the Cicones where the hero lost some of his men?

Comparisons of the physical functions, reminiscent of a pre-historic time, and of other characteristics, ethical or otherwise, which are attributed to Zeus in both poems will now be made. The places in both poems where the term Zeus, son of Cronos, or Cronion⁶ is used and where any specific reference is made to him as the god who gives signs and tokens will also be presented in an effort to show that the poet's conception of the deity is the

¹ix. 553.

²xii. 313 ff.

³xii. 371.

⁴xii. 295.

⁵ix. 52.

⁶For the meaning of these words as applied to Zeus in the poems, see Welcker, Götterlehre, I, 140 ff. and Overbeck, op. cit., pp. 59 ff., 82. For the derivation of the word Cronos, see Welcker, ibid., p. 145 and Preller, Gr. Mythologie, I, 45.

same in both poems.

In the Iliad as the god of the weather Zeus controls and sends phenomena connected with it. He sends the thunder,¹ and the lightning.² He is the author of time; the Greeks were at Troy for nine years of Zeus.³ He sends a star,⁴ sets a mist in the air,⁵ and places a rainbow in the sky.⁶ He rouses the wind,⁷ sends the rain,⁸ sends snow,⁹ clouds,¹⁰ night,¹¹ and darkness.¹² He also sends signs and tokens¹³ when he wishes to signify the divine will to man.¹⁴

In the Odyssey Zeus sends the thunder,¹⁵ lightning,¹⁶ clouds,¹⁷ and rain.¹⁸ He raises the winds.¹⁹ He is the author of time.²⁰ He also shows his pleasure or displeasure by tokens

¹vii. 478; viii. 75, 133, 170; xi. 182; xiv. 54; xv. 377; xvi. 121; xx. 56; xxi. 198.

²ii. 350; x. 5; xiii. 242, 319; xiv. 417; xv. 117; xxi. 198.

³ii. 134.

⁴iv. 75.

⁵v. 522.

⁶xi. 27; xvii. 548. ⁷ii. 781; xii. 252; xiv. 19; xvi. 365.

⁸xi. 493; xii. 25, 286; xvi. 386.

⁹xii. 279; xix. 306.

¹⁰ii. 146; xvi. 298; xvii. 593.

¹¹xvi. 567.

¹²xvii. 269.

¹³See Cook, op. cit., VII, 4 ff.

¹⁴ii. 1. 63; ii. 26, 309, 350; iv. 75, 381, 408; vii. 478; viii. 170, 247, 251; ix. 236; xi. 27; xii. 200, 209; xv. 377; xvii. 548; xxiv. 314.

¹⁵vii. 250; xii. 415; xiv. 306; xx. 103, 112; xxi. 413.

¹⁶xxiv. 540.

¹⁷v. 304; xii. 405; xiv. 303; xxiv. 42.

¹⁸ix. 11, 358; xiv. 457.

¹⁹ix. 67; xii. 313; xiv. 298; xv. 475.

²⁰xii. 399; xiv. 93; xv. 76; xxiv. 344.

of birds and natural phenomena.¹

Besides the functions of Zeus as a weather god there are others also in the poems which show Zeus in various relations to man. They show him in the Iliad concerned for the combatants and giving them strength in the conflict. His power and his complete control over the men as well as over the destiny of the struggle is shown. It is within Zeus' power to grant the sacking of Troy,² which he loves³ and protects.⁴ He can dispose of the war.⁵ He inflicts with sorrow those who are engaged in the struggle⁶ and urges on the fight.⁷ At one time he favors the Greeks, at another, the Trojans.⁸ Again, he allows the one side to be vanquished at the hands of the other.⁹ He sends terror among the combatants,¹⁰ as well as the toils and evils of war.¹¹ He afflicts men with evil and troubles and delivers them from them.¹² It rests with Zeus to drive back the assault or to deal with it as he pleases.¹³ It depends on him whether the cast of a hero's spear meets its mark.¹⁴ To fight with Zeus is impossible.¹⁵ On Zeus' will de-

¹i. 348; ii. 146; xv. 160; xvi. 320; xx. 101; xxi. 413.

²Il. i. 128; viii. 286. ³iv. 40, 46.

⁴ix. 419, 686. ⁵iv. 84; xix. 224.

⁶ii. 32, 70, 375; xxiv. 241.

⁷vii. 209; viii. 335; xiii. 794; xv. 567; xvi. 662.

⁸x. 45; xv. 375; xvii. 339, 630.

⁹viii. 364, 414; xii. 37, 226; xiii. 812; xvi. 97; xix. 274; xxi. 216.

¹⁰iii. 53; xvii. 400; xviii. 292; xix. 87; xx. 306.

¹¹i. 111; ii. 26; vi. 357; x. 71; xvi. 400; xviii. 292.

¹²iv. 249; viii. 242; xxi. 170.

¹³xii. 275. ¹⁴xvii. 515.

¹⁵xxi. 193.

pends the restoration to Priam of Hector¹ whom Zeus had given to Achilles to destroy.² It is his will also that will decide whether Priam will find pity with Achilles or not.³ The ships of the Greeks cannot be taken without the consent of the deity.⁴ It is in his power to subdue the adversary in war,⁵ and the man whom he assists is easily discernible to men.⁶ When evil overtakes a person, it is Zeus who is the cause; the person afflicted must be hated by him.⁷ No man can ward off his will;⁸ the man whom he loves is worth many.⁹ Zeus does not at all times accomplish all the purposes of men,¹⁰ nor does he grant at all times the requests of those who sacrifice to him.¹¹ He gives to the combatants glory,¹² victory,¹³ honor,¹⁴ and renown,¹⁵ as well as valor and might for war.¹⁶ He also inspires the participants of the war with dread.¹⁷ Agamemnon blames Zeus for inflicting him with blindness of soul.¹⁸ Zeus also deprives the heroes of their wits,¹⁹ according as he wishes to give victory to one or the other. Sev-

¹xxiv. 140.

²xxiv. 403.

³xxiv. 308.

⁴xv. 719.

⁵xvi. 103.

⁶xv. 490.

⁷vi. 139; xxi. 83.

⁸viii. 143.

⁹ix. 117.

¹⁰xiii. 328.

¹¹ii. 419; iii. 302; iv. 160; vii. 69; xvi. 250.

¹²i. 279; v. 33; viii. 141, 175; xi. 66; xvi. 88; xvii. 566; xix. 204.

¹³ii. 205; v. 225; viii. 140; xi. 318; xiii. 247; xvii. 331, 453, 627.

¹⁴i. 175, 354, 503; ii. 197; ix. 608; xvii. 251; xxi. 403.

¹⁵ii. 482; xi. 289, 306; xii. 173, 437; xxi. 290; xxii. 130.

¹⁶xi. 753; xvi. 241; xvii. 498.

¹⁷xv. 637; xvi. 656.

¹⁸ii. 111; viii. 236; ix. 18.

¹⁹vi. 234; xv. 724; xix. 137.

eral of the heroes are dear to Zeus; Hector and Ajax are loved by him.¹ Often throughout the Iliad one finds that Hector receives favors from the deity; he is aided by him several times in battle,² he is aroused by him for war,³ and is given a helmet by him.⁴ Odysseus and Diomedes are also shown favors by Zeus.⁵ Odysseus is mentioned alone as receiving kindnesses from the god.⁶ Achilles is similarly treated by him⁷ and Patroclus also.⁸ Aeneas was saved and shielded by Zeus from Achilles;⁹ Delphobus was also saved by him.¹⁰ The heralds are his messengers.¹¹ Iris carries his communications to men.¹² Together with the places mentioned in which Zeus has been shown as performing different functions in the Iliad and where it can be inferred that he is the god who pre-eminently guides the destiny of the war in that poem, there are other places also in which he can be seen directly or indirectly engaged in the fortunes of the struggle between the Greeks and Trojans.¹³

In the Odyssey this sphere of Zeus as the giver of every

¹vii. 280.

²x. 49; xi. 163; xii. 450; xiii. 673; xv. 69; xxii. 256, 301.

³xiii. 58.

⁴xvi. 799.

⁵x. 552.

⁶xi. 419, 473.

⁷xvi. 168; xviii. 78, 203; xxi. 290.

⁸xi. 611.

⁹xx. 92, 194.

¹⁰xiii. 783.

¹¹i. 334.

¹²xi. 201, 207; xv. 54; xxiv. 143.

¹³Il. i. 239; ii. 94, 319, 348; iii. 365; iv. i, 166; v. 265, 421, 537, 742, 759, 760, 872; vi. 266, 282; vii. 194, 202; viii. 2, 49, 68, 250, 407, 494; x. 46; xi. 278; xii. 68, 164, 235, 292, 402; xiii. 524, 623, 837; xiv. 119, 204, 414; xv. 146, 489; xvi. 233, 644, 688; xvii. 46, 176, 198, 209, 272, 409, 440, 543, 645; xviii. 75, 116, 431; xx. 4, 15, 19, 31, 155, 192, 304; xxi. 2, 190, 388, 444, 520; xxii. 210, 280, 366; xxiii. 307; xxiv. 175, 611.

quality which belongs to human life and which is consistent with the morality and religious belief of the Homeric man is also expressed. It was a belief in Homer's time that Zeus gave to both good and bad men¹ what was beneficial to each.² He also apportioned evil as well as good to men.³ It is he who gives rest from affliction.⁴ Strangers and beggars are sent from Zeus.⁵ He is the avenger of strangers and suppliants⁶ and is a witness for the latter.⁷ He is the god of retribution and grants deeds of requital.⁸ He sends sickness.⁹ He gives evil as the lot now of one, now of another.¹⁰ It is from him that honor comes.¹¹ He grants the wishes and purposes of men.¹² He is displeased with deeds that are evil.¹³ He bestows upon each what his heart desires.¹⁴ He gives counsel at Dodona.¹⁵ Deeds of prowess are bestowed by Zeus.¹⁶ It is he who grants that promises be fulfilled.¹⁷ His counsel is accomplished.¹⁸ On the day of slavery he takes away half of a man's virtue.¹⁹ He brings tidings to men.²⁰ He grants prey to men who land on foreign shores.²¹ Many other toils, benefits, pains, and troubles similar to those

¹ vi. 168.

² ii. 34.

³ xv. 489.

⁴ iv. 34.

⁵ vi. 207.

⁶ ix. 270; xiv. 389.

⁷ xvi. 422.

⁸ i. 379; ii. 144; xvii. 51, 60.

⁹ ix. 411.

¹⁰ iv. 237.

¹¹ xiv. 441; xix. 161.

¹² xxi. 200; xxii. 51.

¹³ vii. 316; xiv. 283.

¹⁴ i. 348; xiv. 53.

¹⁵ xiv. 328; xix. 297.

¹⁶ viii. 245.

¹⁷ vii. 331; xix. 236.

¹⁸ xi. 297.

¹⁹ xvii. 322.

²⁰ i. 283; ii. 217.

²¹ xiv. 86.

enumerated are given by Zeus.¹ Although Zeus could have given a return from Troy to the Greeks,² he did not purpose to do so.³ He did not give to Odysseus an easy return over the sea,⁴ but willed that he take a voyage other than the one home.⁵ He devised for him a hateful path,⁶ planned mischief against him,⁷ and cut off the day of his returning.⁸ It was Zeus who broke Odysseus' ship,⁹ planned the destruction of his crew,¹⁰ and sent a panic among them.¹¹ Yet, Odysseus realized that Zeus had the power to save him and his company from death and bring about their return home.¹² Zeus did not permit them again to see Scylla.¹³ He saved Odysseus when he was shipwrecked by giving him a mast,¹⁴ and he inspired him with a thought for his safety.¹⁵ It was in Zeus' power to grant that Odysseus slay the wooers,¹⁶ or that the wooers slay him,¹⁷ or he could confound them before their vengeance fell upon the household of Odysseus.¹⁸ He put into the heart of Telemachus the thought to move the arms.¹⁹ Amphinomus suggested to the wooers that they seek advice from the oracles of Zeus to find out whether they approved of the killing of

¹ i. 152, 288, 319; iv. 699, 722; vii. 82; ix. 38, 52; xi. 436, 559; xiv. 57, 440; xviii. 273; xix. 364; xxiv. 96.

² iv. 173.

³ i. 160.

⁴ v. 176.

⁵ ix. 262; xvii. 424; xix. 80.

⁶ xiv. 235.

⁷ xiv. 243.

⁸ xix. 367.

⁹ v. 132; xiv. 307; xxiii. 331.

¹⁰ xiv. 300.

¹¹ xiv. 268; xvii. 437.

¹² xv. 112; xx. 98.

¹³ xii. 445.

¹⁴ xiv. 310.

¹⁵ xiv. 273.

¹⁶ xv. 180; xx. 42.

¹⁷ xxi. 252.

¹⁸ xvii. 597.

¹⁹ xvi. 291.

Telemachus.¹ Zeus stretched forth his hand to shield Telemachus² and hindered the wooers from killing him.³ The word Zeus is used in various other connections in the Odyssey and is concerned with Odysseus or some feature of the story about his voyagings or his dealings with the wooers.⁴

Next we come to another special function of the god-head, the ethical one. In the Iliad, as a supreme and heavenly god, Zeus is called on in oaths to witness any covenant about to be made.⁵ In the Odyssey he appears in a similar capacity.⁶ In the Iliad Zeus is called upon as the oath god ten times and in the Odyssey five times. Probably this capacity of Zeus is one of his oldest attributes. Zeus is the god of vengeance and of justice. Suppliants flee to his altars.⁷ He punishes the wrongdoer and the transgressor.⁸ This character of Zeus as the giver of justice and as the god who metes out punishment to the wrongdoer is also to be found in the Odyssey.⁹ Punishment is inflicted by Zeus in these several places because the act is wrong; no other reason is given.

In the Homeric religion the merciful aspect of Zeus is more prevalent than the vindictive. This attribute of the deity

¹xvi. 403.

²xiv. 184.

³xx. 273.

⁴Od. i. 386, 390; iii. 88; iv. 668; v. 409; viii. 465; ix. 275; xi. 302; xv. 353; xvi. 117; xviii. 137, 376; xxi. 102; xxiv. 24, 164.

⁵Il. iii. 107, 276, 320; iv. 160; vii. 69, 76, 411; x. 329; xix. 259; xxiii. 43.

⁶Od. xiv. 158; xvii. 155; xix. 303; xx. 230, 339.

⁷Od. xxii. 334, 379.

⁸Il. iii. 320, 351, 365; iv. 158, 234; xvi. 384; xxiv. 133, 570, 586.

⁹Od. i. 162; iii. 133; vi. 207; vii. 164, 180, 249; ix. 273; xi. 436, 577; xiv. 283, 389; xvi. 422; xvii. 322; xxiv. 544.

is vividly presented by Homer in the Iliad. When Agamemnon prayed to Zeus that the ships be not burned by the Trojans, Zeus had compassion on him¹ and granted that his people should be saved. When Hector was lying on the plain wounded by Ajax, Zeus showed pity for him.² As the combatants mercilessly warred on each other, Zeus pitied them.³ Diomedes also was compassionated by the god.⁴ Achilles was pitied by Zeus as he mourned for the death of Patroclus.⁵ Zeus showed his pity for Hector though slain⁶ and had compassion on Priam.⁷ He is generally recognized as merciful by Homer.⁸

Homer presents Zeus as the supreme god who assumed and maintained the essential prerogative of omnipotence. His omnipotence as the ruler of the universe is shown by the fact that he works his will by a single fiat.⁹ When he shakes his head, all Olympus quakes. His care for both Greeks and Trojans shows his universal concern for men.¹⁰ His worship is not confined to the Greeks alone.¹¹ The pre-eminence and even the omnipotence of Zeus as sometimes expressed in the poems almost amount to a dogma. All the other gods are the subordinates of the deity. It is he who directs mortal affairs and dispenses men's necessities, moral and physical. There is no profound religious thought attached to any of the gods in the poems except to Zeus, nor is there any intimation of omnipotence or omniscience connected with any of the

¹Il. viii. 245

⁶xxiv. 68.

²xv. 12.

⁷xxiv. 333.

³xvi. 431; xvii. 443.

⁸ix. 172.

⁴xvii. 648.

⁹Il. xii. 235.

⁵xix. 340.

¹⁰Il. xx. 20.

¹¹Il. iii. 276, 320; iv. 48; vii. 202, 308; xii. 169; xxiv. 426.

other deities. The attributes of omnipotence and omniscience are not imputed to Zeus in any one particular section of the Iliad; they are fairly evenly distributed throughout the whole poem. Homer does not appear to have developed these features of the character of Zeus with logical consistency. Zeus is designated by the poet as the strongest of all the gods¹ and to him belongs the highest power.² He is king of gods and men.³ It is he who is looked to for deliverance from dangers.⁴ He is mightier far than all the gods⁵ and is their chief.⁶ Zeus is addressed as the highest and best of the gods.⁷ He is the king of all the immortals.⁸ All things are from him.⁹ It is he who accomplishes all¹⁰ and is lord of all.¹¹ Zeus is by far superior to all in wisdom.¹² Diomedes knows that it is Zeus who controls human lives.¹³ Achilles perceives that Troy cannot be captured without the aid of Zeus.¹⁴ Zeus shows his superiority over the other gods when he permits them to help whom they wish in the battle.¹⁵ If he is approached with gentle words, he will be gracious.¹⁶ Zeus is called on many times as Zeus, most glorious, most great.¹⁷ He is prayed to by the people¹⁸ and hears and accomplishes the objects of those who pray to him.¹⁹ He is no helper of the deceitful and lying.²⁰ He is looked on as the god who takes care of men.²¹ It is impossible for

¹Il. i. 580.

²Il. ii. 116; ix. 24.

³Il. 670.

⁴vi. 526.

⁵viii. 211.

⁶xiii. 154.

⁷xix. 259.

⁸iv. 61.

⁹xiii. 631.

¹⁰xix. 90.

¹¹xx. 242.

¹²xiii. 631.

¹³xiv. 120.

¹⁴i. 128.

¹⁵xx. 24.

¹⁶i. 583.

¹⁷ii. 412; iii. 276; xxiv. 308.

¹⁸iii. 320; v. 174.

¹⁹xviii. 75.

²⁰iii. 235.

²¹iii. 249.

men to ward off his will.¹ He has placed an excellent understanding in the heart of man, from which man gets gain; he saves many a one, and himself best knows it.² His will is supreme.³ It is in his power to put an end to the war.⁴ His will revives Hector,⁵ who returns to battle. Menelaus in prayer exclaims to Zeus that it is not right to boast above measure.⁶ Zeus is the disposer of the wars of men.⁷ At times he does not accomplish all their purposes.⁸ His commandment must not be transgressed.⁹ He punishes those who give crooked judgments in the assembly and drive out justice and care not for his vengeance.¹⁰

In the Odyssey, as in the Iliad, Zeus grants requital for wrongs done¹¹ and gives evil.¹² He gives good to all men whether good or bad.¹³ It would cause Zeus displeasure if Odysseus were detained by the Phaeacians against the hero's will. He is prayed to¹⁴ and his counsel is accomplished.¹⁵ His counsel is given at Dodona.¹⁶ Odysseus prays that Eumacus may be dear to Zeus and says that the god (Zeus) will give one thing and another withhold, for with him all things are possible.¹⁷ He knows whether he will fulfil for the wooers the evil day.¹⁸ He is called to witness in preference to any other god.¹⁹

The mention of the god in his different manifestations by

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| ¹ viii. 143. | ² xii. 732 f. | ³ xix. 69. |
| ⁴ xiv. 85. | ⁵ xv. 242. | |
| ⁶ Il. xvii. 19. Cf. <u>Od.</u> vii. 311; xv. 71. | | |
| ⁷ xix. 224. | ⁸ xviii. 328. | ⁹ xxiv. 570, 586. |
| ¹⁰ xvi. 385. | ¹¹ i. 379; ii. 144; iv. 699. | |
| ¹² iv. 237. | ¹³ vi. 188. | ¹⁴ xiv. 406. |
| ¹⁵ xi. 297. | ¹⁶ xiv. 328. | ¹⁷ iv. 237; xiv. 441. |
| ¹⁸ xiv. 523. Cf. <u>Il.</u> iii. 298. | ¹⁹ xx. 230. | |

the dramatis personae and by the poet when his thought of Zeus coincides with that of the characters of the poems must be taken as the expression of the belief in Zeus in Homer's time.¹

This concludes the inquiry into the poet's conception of Zeus in the Iliad and Odyssey. There appears to be no justification for the assertions of the critics that Homer depicts Zeus differently in different parts of the Iliad. There is no proof that he is a more capricious and stern exacter of his right in the Iliad than in the Odyssey or that he is more idealized in the Odyssey than in the Iliad. The same characteristics and functions are attached to him in both poems.

¹For an enumeration and comparison of the direct and indirect references to Zeus in the two poems, see Shewan, The Lay of Dolon, p. 39.

